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Byzantine Gardens and Horticulture in the Late Byzantine Period, 1204–1453: The Secular Sources

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Despite the attractiveness of the theme and the work of colleagues in recent years,¹ the Byzantine garden is still not well known, mainly because of the paucity of sources. I have chosen to examine, by use of the secular literature, the late Byzantine period, from ca. 1204 to the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. This period seems to have been less thoroughly investigated than have most earlier periods, and a concentration on it should produce a more coherent picture than another attempt to cover the whole span of Byzantine history. It is, moreover, the only period from which there survives any sizable quantity of documentary evidence for productive gardens.

During these last 250 years of Greek rule, conditions drastically curtailed the tradition, which stretched back to Hellenistic times, of building luxurious villas, mostly outside the cities, with pleasing gardens, as appear in mosaics and frescoes or are recorded in texts. At a time when the safety of the countryside was shaken, especially after around 1300, this had become practically impossible. Nevertheless, it appears that the declining empire continued to uphold the ideals and culture it had preserved for centuries. Although the pleasure garden seems to have been gradually replaced by the profitable vegetable garden, or the flower garden of the household by the kitchen garden, there were individuals of considerable culture and wealth who could, always within the limits of Christian piety, appreciate pleasure gardens and ensure their continued existence, however precarious, in the big cities. Poets used the color and fragrance of flowers in their poetry; rhetoricians, following an old tradition, spoke appreciatively of the presence of gardens in cities or outside public buildings in their encomia, or ekphraseis; scholars continued to study and copy the relevant textbooks, like the *Geoponika*, while a few intellectuals went beyond the traditional limits and composed works like the *Porikologos* (“Fruit Book”), where many fruits are presented as

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¹ See A. R. Littlewood, “The Scholarship of Byzantine Gardens,” in this volume, 13–21.

taking part in legal procedures satirizing court ceremonial. That flowers continued to exist in the minds of people, though not always in their kitchen gardens, is apparent from the many proverbs in both the high and the demotic style which were in everyday use in both the written and the oral language during the late Byzantine period.

Productive Gardens

During the period under investigation the Byzantines lost much of the countryside that had supplied the towns and cities with fruit and vegetables. Many peasants were forced to abandon their farmlands and take refuge in the walled towns or flee to Constantinople and the other lands still in Christian hands as Turkish tribes advanced quickly through Byzantine territory in both Asia and Europe.² This development turned the neglected areas into uncultivated regions of wild nature, while many deserted settlements soon fell into ruins. When Michael VIII Palaiologos took an army into Bithynia in the autumn of 1281 to combat the threat from a Turkish tribe later to be known as the Ottomans, he found the area of the Sangarios River abandoned and impassable. Having known this region well from his service there as a young general some thirty years earlier, he fell into despair on seeing what he described as a "Skythian desert." There were, however, still abundant fruits on the trees, enough to feed his army.³ That the European lands of the empire suffered a similar abandonment is reported by Pero Tafur, a Spanish traveler, who upon visiting the area of Adrianople in the autumn of 1437 noted that the land, though fruitful, was depopulated by war.⁴

Nevertheless, there were still market gardens and orchards. These were known by a variety of names indicating both size and purpose: *kēpos*, *kēpion*, *kēpoperibolion*, *kēpotopion*, *kēporeion*, which are all regularly found in Athonite *praktika* (inventories) from the thirteenth century on, refer mostly to vegetable gardens; *ampelokēpion* and *ampeloperibolion* refer respectively to a mixed vineyard and vegetable garden and to a vineyard (Fig. 1) and orchard. These texts employ also, but only very occasionally, the term *paradeisos* (which appears more in rhetorical texts and especially in late Byzantine romances): when used in a literal sense, this means a pleasure garden with flowers and trees mixed together.⁵ Unfortunately such

² For the Christian refugees who fled from Bithynia in 1302, see G. Pachymeres, *De Michaelē et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1835), 2:335–37. For the decline and abandonment of the city of Sardis in the 14th century, see the patriarchal document of 1382 in MM 2:46.

³ G. Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903), 1:163.8; see esp. Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler and trans. V. Laurent (Paris, 1984), 1.6:29, 633.12–637.8 (hereafter Failler-Laurent, *Pachymères*). A century later, in 1391, Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos passed through the same area while following, as a vassal, the sultan Bayezid I in his campaign against the emirs of Sinope and Kastamouni on the south shore of the Black Sea. Manuel tells us in a letter addressed to his tutor and friend Demetrios Kydonēs that the marching army came across deserted areas and ruins of cities whose names the antiquarian emperor realized were unknown to the local people. See *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, ed. G. T. Dennis, CFHB 8 (Washington, D.C., 1977), no. 16; see also J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), 90–91.

⁴ Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435–1439*, ed. and trans. M. Letts (London, 1926), 128.

⁵ See E. M. Jeffreys, "The Question of Western Influence on Greek Popular Verse Romances, with Particular Reference to the Garden-Castle Theme" (B.Litt. thesis, University of Oxford, 1968), esp. 110–13; A. R. Littlewood, "Romantic Paradises: The Rôle of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance," *BMGS* 5 (1979): 102,



- 1 Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 74, fol. 39v (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

documentary texts, while presumably in large part factually accurate, do not describe the actual gardens. For descriptions (usually brief and often vague) we must rely primarily on rhetoricians who frequently, in writing models for their students, merely recycled material from their predecessors, who were writing of quite different locations and were too, of course, more concerned with expressing the beauties of the traditional *locus amoenus* than the specific features that the historian craves.⁶ Their general pictures are likely to be largely correct, but all details are suspect.

The historian George Akropolites speaks of a large garden nearly eight stadia (i.e., ca. 1,480 m) outside Thessalonike, called the garden of Provatas. This seems to have been a vegetable garden, and it was there that John III Vatatzes camped with his army in 1242 when trying to recover the city from the separatist rulers of Epiros.⁷ A century and a half later we learn from *praktika* that the Athonite monastery of Iveron owned two gardens within the walls of Thessalonike and a large cultivated garden outside the walls close to the Golden Gate (i.e., in the west-southwest of the city) and stretching along the coastline. These huge gardens were let in 1404 to the noble family of the Argyropouloi at an annual rent of 30

105–8.

⁶ See H.-V. Beyer, “Der ‘Heilige Berg’ in der byzantinischen Literatur,” *JÖB* 30 (1981): 171–205; A. R. Littlewood, “Gardens of Byzantium,” *Journal of Garden History* 12 (1992): 144; L. Brubaker and A. R. Littlewood, “Byzantinische Gärten,” in *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter*, ed. M. Carroll-Spillecke (Mainz am Rhein, 1992), 245.

⁷ Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 1:66.8.

gold coins. The Argyropouloi were also obliged to provide for the needs of the monastery adequate amounts of produce from the gardens; among the items mentioned in the document are cabbages, leeks, carrots, garlic, onions, courgettes, melons, and cucumbers as well as pomegranates. The Argyropouloi profitably exploited the property, expanded the cultivated land, improved the irrigation, and hired out the gardens to a number of gardeners, whose names are given in the document, and thus they earned much more than the annual rent they paid to the monastery. This caused disagreement with the monastery, whose monks took the case before the court in Thessalonike and even to Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos himself in 1421. The emperor ordered his son in Thessalonike, the despot Andronikos, after hearing the views of the Argyropouloi, to return the gardens to the monastery. The fate of these gardens, which seem to have supplied Thessalonike with fresh vegetables for many years, cannot be followed after 1430, when the Ottomans stormed into the city and carried away most of its citizens.⁸

The Athonite *praktika* mention not only many other *kepoi* in the area of eastern Macedonia and Chalkidike that the monasteries had acquired through donation or purchase, but also water mills used in irrigating the gardens. These registers of land also refer to the small gardens or kitchen gardens owned by most families living in villages whose land belonged to the Athonite monasteries. We know the types of trees grown in these gardens—and almost every household could boast at least one tree. The following are mentioned: fig, walnut, pear, cherry, quince, almond, apple, pomegranate, olive, chestnut, mulberry, and oak. The great number of vineyards mentioned in these documents indicates that the area was well cultivated and productive. The same trees are cultivated today in the area of Chalkidike, evidence that few changes have occurred in both the farming habits and the climate of this area, at least before the introduction of mechanized agriculture.⁹ One suspects, but cannot, of course, prove, that in these gardens the instructions given in the *Geoponika* (which was preserved mostly through late Byzantine manuscripts) for cultivating flowers beneath the trees were often followed.¹⁰

From the Peloponnese there survives a fifteenth-century description by the churchman John Eugenikos of the village of Petrina, east of Sparta. Eugenikos speaks of the

⁸ For a recent edition of these documents, see *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1995), 1: nos. 97–98, 151–64. Document no. 98 is a *σχεματικὸν γράμμα* of the *katholikai kritai* of Thessalonike of April 1421 (text, 158–62, pls. xxxii–xxxiv), while no. 99 (text, 164, pl. xxxv) is a *prostagma* of Emperor Manuel II of June 1421. The first, acephalous, document was also published by Ioakeim Iberites in *Gregorios Palamas* 5 (1921): 846–51, and by F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges, Textband* (Munich, 1948), no. 102, 263–72 (text, 266–69). The second document was also published by Ioakeim Iberites in *Gregorios Palamas* 1 (1917): 541–42, and by Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, no. 24, 69–71 (text, 70). For the gardens owned by this monastery in Thessalonike, see *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 3, *De 1204 à 1328*, Archives de l'Athos 18 (Paris, 1994), no. 76, 240.60–62 and no. 84, 299.3–4 and 300.27. For literature on the disputes over these gardens, see Littlewood, “Scholarship.”

⁹ Cf. A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 32; improved Greek trans. (Athens, 1992), 47–51.

¹⁰ Τὸ δὲ μεταξύ τῶν δένδρων πληρούσθω ῥόδων καὶ κρίνων καὶ ἱῶν καὶ κρόκου, ἃ καὶ τῇ ὕψει καὶ τῇ ὀσφρήσει καὶ τῇ χρήσει ἐστὶν ἥδιστα καὶ εὐπροσόδευτα, καὶ ταῖς μελίσσαις ὠφέλιμα. *Geoponika*, ed. H. Beckh (Leipzig, 1895), 10.1.264.3–6.

picturesque landscape, since the village was close to the sea but also to a lake, where forest trees were mixed with fruit trees and the land was covered by vineyards and olive, fig, pear, pomegranate, apple, and oak trees. All these together created a healthy climate. He adds that as one went lower in the plain, there were natural springs, green bushes, meadows, and a variety of flowers.¹¹

The capital itself had suffered much under the Latin occupation of 1204–61, but in a public speech delivered before the emperor, perhaps in 1266, Manuel (monastic name Maximos) Holobolos records what Michael VIII Palaiologos had done in the way of restoration.¹² He mentions the fertile land and the rivers and refers to improvements in the cultivated fields, the ports, the many beautiful parks, the fountains in public places, and the watered meadows, where all kinds of plants and a great variety of flowers, which had been neglected for many years, were now flowering to such a degree that they could be compared with the Homeric gardens of Alkinoos.¹³ This is partly a rhetorician's license, but we do know of a number of specific vegetable gardens, vineyards, orchards,¹⁴ and other cultivated land toward the end of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, when the city was blockaded by the Ottomans and there was a shortage of food. These gardens and vineyards were mostly owned by monastic communities, but were worked by laymen who did not always fulfill their obligations to the monasteries. We thus obtain useful information on them from the documentation of a number of cases that were brought before the patriarchal synod.¹⁵

Further east at Nicaea, where John III Vatatzes is known to have taken a great interest in farming,¹⁶ his successor, Theodore II Laskaris, composed an encomium of the city ca. 1250 before his own accession. In it he describes the many vineyards and other plantations and the bountiful supply of water and springs in the surrounding area.¹⁷ Some forty years

¹¹ Ed. S. P. Lampros, *Παλατιολόγια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1912–23), esp. 49–55.

¹² Ed. M. Treu, *Manuelis Holoboli Orationes*, vol. 2, Programm des Königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam, Ostern (Potsdam, 1907), 57.29–59.5. On Michael's work of restoration, see also *Georgii Cyprii Laudatio Michaelis Palaeologi*, PG 142:376b–377d; Failler-Laurent, *Pachymères*, 3.2:233.8–11; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–55), 1: 88.12–16 (hereafter Gregoras [Bonn ed.]). See also Macrides, “The New Constantine and New Constantinople—1261?” *BMGS* 6 (1980): 13–41, and Talbot, “The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,” *DOP* 47 (1993): 243–61.

¹³ For Alkinoos' gardens, see Homer, *Odyssey*, 7.112–32.

¹⁴ For the fruit grown in Demetrios Kydones' garden, see below, pp. 99–100.

¹⁵ See MM, 2:497–99 (garden and cultivated land in the area of Kynegos, A.D. 1400); 499–501 (vineyard owned by Theotokos Pausolyte in 1401); 501–2 (garden owned by the nunnery of Magistros in 1401); 506–9 (vineyard and plot of land cultivated with wheat owned by the monastery of St. Andrew in Krisei in 1401); 543–46 (*peribolion*, A.D. 1401); 557–58 (vineyard in the area of St. Romanos, A.D. 1401).

¹⁶ Theodore Skoutariotes (Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 1:285–87); Gregoras (Bonn ed.), 1:2.6, 42.1–8.

¹⁷ *Theodori II Lascaris imperatoris in laudem Nicaeae urbis oratio*, ed. L. Bachmann (Rostock, 1847), 8.2–10.1; for a new edition of the text, see Sophia Georgiopolou, “Theodore II Dukas Laskaris (1222–1258) as an Author and an Intellectual of the XIIIth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1990), 140–72, esp. 156.169–163.238. The encomium also appears, together with an English translation by J. Tulchin and C. Foss and a brief commentary by the latter, in C. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (Brookline, Mass., 1996), 132–63, esp. 140–45.

later the youthful Theodore Metochites delivered an encomium of the city before the visiting emperor Andronikos II, in which he speaks of the rivers watering the surrounding fertile plain where vineyards and other trees were planted.¹⁸

Similar descriptions survive of the neighborhood of independent Trebizond in two mid-fifteenth-century encomiastic ekphraseis. Its native son Bessarion, probably shortly before becoming a cardinal in 1439, expatiates on the flowery suburbs, meadows (λειμῶνες), and pleasure gardens (παράδεισοι) full of all kinds of fruit trees, including a large number of olive trees that provided shade in many places.¹⁹ John Eugenikos, paying a visit to his father's birthplace, more briefly praises the view of the city from the sea: "the eyes discover a delightful and splendid view of plains and pleasant meadows, a variety of flowers, extensive woods, and gentle mountains, green bushes and grass, planted vineyards and many other shrubs and cypress trees, which sway as if they were dancing."²⁰

There is no evidence to suggest that the legislation concerning the everyday life of those working farms and gardens had changed in the late Byzantine period, and it seems that the "Farmer's Law" (of possibly 7th-century origin) continued to provide the legal solutions to their problems. This collection contains specific references to gardens. The first (chap. 31) refers to the protection of the garden affected by the shadow of a tree, whose owner is ordered to prune its branches. The other two (chaps. 50, 51) refer to the accidental killing of an animal that tries to enter a garden.²¹ The "Farmer's Law" influenced later legal texts. These included the "Hexabiblos" of the lawyer Constantine Harmenopoulos, which was composed in Thessalonike ca. 1345 to serve as an epitome of the Byzantine legal system. The "Hexabiblos" contains a chapter referring to the gardens or orchards and other plantations in which it is stipulated that a distance of at least 50 feet must separate an existing garden from a new building.²²

Public Parks

For convenience, pleasure gardens may be subdivided into public parks, imperial gardens, and private gardens in urban houses of the aristocracy, although all three bear many similarities to each other. The fullest information on any public park comes from just before our period. It is contained in the description of the church of the Holy Apostles in

¹⁸ Ed. K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1 (Venice, 1872), 143 (hereafter MB). The text is reprinted with an English translation by Tulchin and Foss in Foss, *Nicaea*, 172–75.

¹⁹ "Βησσαρίωνος Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα," ed. S. P. Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 13 (1916): 145–204, text 146–94; see esp. 154, 167, 185–87, 188–90.

²⁰ "Ἰωάννου Εὐγενικοῦ, Ἐκφρασις Τραπεζοῦντος," ed. O. Lampsides, *Ἀρχ. Πόντ.* 20 (1955): 3–39, text, 25–36; see esp. 32.126–33.130. This evidence is corroborated by Pero Tafur, who visited Trebizond at the end of 1437 and reported, "Trebizond has about 4,000 inhabitants. It is well walled, and they say that the ground is fruitful and that it produces a large revenue" (Tafur, *Travels*, 131).

²¹ See I. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1931), 67, 68, 69; cf. also G. E. Heimbach, ed., *Constantini Harmenopuli, Manuale Legum sive Hexabiblos, cum Appendicibus et Legibus Agrariis* (Leipzig, 1851), 840.5, 6 and 846.2.

²² Cf. Harmenopoulos, *Πρόχειρον Νόμων ἢ Ἐξάβιβλος*, ed. C. G. Pitsakes (Athens, 1971), 2:4.48, 128–29.

Constantinople that was composed between 1198 and 1203 by Nicholas Mesarites.²³ However, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that Michael VIII Palaiologos, who spent many of the funds available in the imperial treasury to restore the prestige of his recovered capital, took special care of the church of the Holy Apostles and its surrounding gardens,²⁴ for it was there that he erected a column with a bronze statue of himself offering a model of the city to his namesake the Archangel Michael²⁵ to celebrate his restoration of the capital. The speech of Holobolos referred to above²⁶ further corroborates this belief since the orator specifically mentions parks among Michael's improvements. Mesarites' description, therefore, despite his literary borrowings,²⁷ may substantially give us an idea of the parkland as it was in the 1260s and 1270s. He tells us that there were water reservoirs here able to supply the whole city and also a great variety of fruit trees and splendid gardens where balsam, lilies, fresh clover and hyacinth, roses, oleander, and many other plants of sweet aroma were cultivated. Aqueducts and a variety of springs, tall trees, and musical birds added to the pleasure of the environment.

One cannot expect great concern for public parks and gardens or for the pleasure gardens of the capital during the last century of hardship. Manuel Chrysoloras, in a long letter from Rome, where he was residing as teacher of Greek and ambassador of the emperor, to the prince and future emperor John VIII Palaiologos early in the fifteenth century, does indeed find that New Rome resembles the Old Rome like a daughter resembles her mother, for the former is more beautiful with numerous monuments and statues, great buildings and churches, colonnades and cisterns, strong walls but also fruit trees and many suburbs on both the European and Asiatic shores. However, Chrysoloras was being rather nostalgic, presenting an ideal picture of his home city; the decline of Constantinople began in the fourteenth century, and many of its inhabitants had fled during the lengthy blockade of Bayezid I from 1394 to 1402.²⁸ A few years after Chrysoloras' letter, Pero Tafur reported

²³ "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," ed. and trans. G. Downey, *TAPS*, n.s., 47 (1957): 853–924, esp. 897, 3.4, 5, 6 (trans., 863).

²⁴ See Failler-Laurent, *Pachymères*, 2:33, 221.17–223.8.

²⁵ The church and this remarkable bronze statue were severely damaged by the earthquake of 1 June 1296: the archangel lost his head and the model of the city slipped out of the emperor's hands and also fell to the ground. See Pachymeres, ed. Bekker, vol. 2:234.13–22, with English translation in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (Toronto–Buffalo–London, 1986; 1st ed., 1972), 245–46 and n. 9. The statue seems to have been restored and was seen there by Buondelmonti in 1420; see G. Gerola, "Le vedute di Costantinopoli de Christoforo Buondelmonti," *SBN* 3 (1931): 275–76.

²⁶ See above, note 12.

²⁷ Littlewood ("Gardens of Byzantium," 144) has shown that Mesarites, in this work, imitated Libanios' *Antiochikos*. It seems, however, despite the stylistic imitation and even the verbatim copying of certain phrases, that the gardens and the surroundings of the church of the Holy Apostles were at least real.

²⁸ Text of the letter in PG 156:23–54 with a Latin translation (a small passage is translated into English by Mango, *Art of the Byz. Empire*, 250–52); see also E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* (Munich, 1968), 234–38. Already in the 1330s the aristocratic historian Nikephoros Gregoras criticized Emperor Andronikos III for paying no attention to ceremonial and neglecting the restoration of the luxurious imperial palace as well as the churches and other buildings; see Gregoras (Bonn ed.), 1:566.19–568.17, esp. 568.8–17. On the condition of Constantinople ca. 1400 there survives a patriarchal document (ed. MM, 2:463–67, esp. 463–64) referring to τοσαύτην ἡμῖν θλίψιν καὶ κάκωσιν ἐπενεχθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν καὶ ἀμορφίαν πάσης σχεδὸν τῆς

more accurately on the condition of Constantinople when in 1437/38 he observed that the dilapidation of the city was indicative of “the evils which the people have suffered and still endure.”²⁹

There are hints that the inhabitants of Nicaea enjoyed parks while it was the capital and for some time thereafter. Theodore II Laskaris, in the encomium mentioned earlier,³⁰ claims that it so abounded in trees that anyone approaching the city might have confused it with a grove and, coming closer, have thought it a “paradise,” while on entering might have said that it was a city of the Graces, since cypress trees projected above the towers of its fortifications (Fig. 2). Again, ca. 1290 Metochites praised the city’s many public baths, fountains, and churches, such as that of St. Tryphon, whose feast was celebrated at the time when flowers in the city were blooming.³¹ The two descriptions of Trebizond by Bessarion and Eugenikos quoted above³² also suggest the possibility of public parks (as well as privately owned pleasure gardens) in that city.

Imperial Gardens

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople, the Nicaean emperor John III Vatatzes created gardens at his summer palace outside Nymphaion.³³ In fact it is in these gardens that he died in November 1254.³⁴ Praise of the palace, the excellent climate, the meadows, and the flowing springs of the area is to be found in an encomium of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos by Manuel Holobolos, delivered after the recovery of Constantinople ca. 1265.³⁵ The palatial gardens at Nymphaion may also figure in an *epithalamion* by the otherwise unknown poet Nicholas Eirenikos. This was composed for the wedding of John III and Constance (called Anna by the Byzantines), daughter of the German emperor Frederick II and Bianca Lancia, which took place in 1244. In part 4 of the poem the emperor is compared to a lotus and the bride to a beautiful rose, while the ceremony takes place in a meadow that may well have belonged to the summer palace.³⁶

Although Manuel Philes, court poet under Andronikos II and III in the first half of the fourteenth century, left among his compositions on flora³⁷ and fauna no description of an actual palace garden, he did write a long poem of 108 verses referring to a garden painted

μεγαλοπόλεως ταύτης.

²⁹ Tafur, *Travels*, 145–46.

³⁰ Above, note 17, esp. 8.5–12.

³¹ Sathas, MB 1:147–48.

³² Above, p. 92, notes 19, 20.

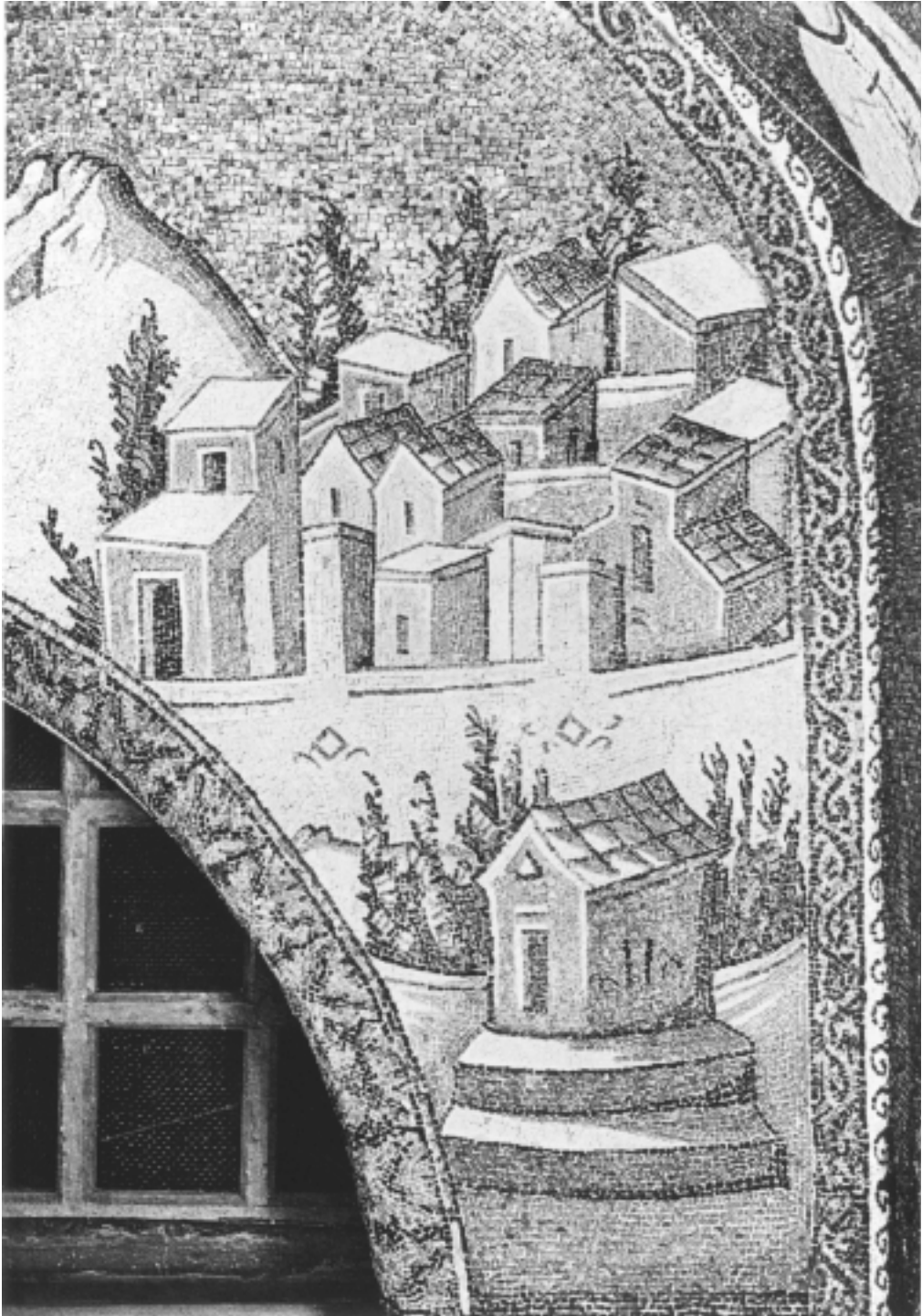
³³ On imperial gardens in general, see A. R. Littlewood, “Gardens of the Palaces,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), 13–38.

³⁴ Akropolites, ed. Heisenberg, 1:103.11–19.

³⁵ Treu, *Manuelis Holoboli Orationes*, 1:48.28–32.

³⁶ Ed. A. Heisenberg, “Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit,” *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (Munich, 1920), 10, 103.80–104.92.

³⁷ E.g., four verses praising a white rose sent as a cover poem accompanying the rose to a high-standing friend from whom Philes was probably asking a favor; see *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855–57), 1:no. CLII, 341.



- 2 Istanbul, monastery of Chora, present-day Kariye Camii. Mosaic, Return of the Holy Family from Egypt, detail of Nazareth (photo: after P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* [New York, 1966], 2:203, pl. 111)

on the ceiling of an imperial palace. The poem takes the form of introductory questions posed by a visitor admiring the painted ceiling, and the poet, while answering his queries, presents a nice picture of the garden to the reader. The poet admires the garden hanging from the ceiling, which, though not watered, has branches of fresh trees, full of leaves and flowers. Next to the lilies are the colors of a beautiful grove. So lifelike is it all that he wants the visitor to avoid touching or cutting the lilies. The painter has shown himself to be an excellent guardian of the grove and has depicted predatory animals pursuing other animals, such as hares, which feed on herbs; occasionally, too, a bird perches in the hollow of a lily, gathering the seed of the flower. He has painted a female lion feeding her cubs, and a pair of peacocks, but has banished the noisier birds, such as swallows, nightingales, and swans, to avoid disturbing the silence obligatory in an imperial chamber.³⁸

A second ekphrasis by John Eugenikos describes a royal couple in an imperial garden whom he seems to have observed from the galleries of the palace above. He gives us valuable information about this garden in the fifteenth century. The newly married couple had walked out of the palace into the garden, and they were surrounded by trees, such as apple, pear, and citrus, and also by vineyards and flowers, such as red and white roses, hyacinths, narcissi, violets, and lilies. There was also a very pretty fountain with a golden dove and flowing water.³⁹ Whether John Eugenikos refers to a real or an imagined garden we cannot tell, but his description is very vivid, and he may well refer to an event that he had observed in the palace after a royal wedding.⁴⁰

Elements that appeared in descriptions of imperial (and other) gardens before the sack of 1204 may be found in Palaiologan romances and in a long ekphrasis by the early fourteenth-century teacher of rhetoric Theodore Hyrtakenos on the pleasure garden of St. Anne,⁴¹ as is well demonstrated by Mary-Lyon Dolezal and Maria Mavroudi.⁴²

Imperial enthusiasm for hunting in the middle Byzantine period resulted in the creation of game parks outside the capital.⁴³ There is no clear evidence that any of these

³⁸ Ibid., 2: no. LXII, 127–31. The poem is partly translated into English by Mango, *Art of the Byz. Empire*, 248. Cf. Littlewood, “Gardens of Byzantium,” 147–48, and “Gardens of the Palaces,” 34; also Nancy P. Ševčenko, “Wild Animals in the Byzantine Park,” in this volume. In another poem, “On the Twelve Months,” Philes, in referring to May, speaks of the blossoms in the capital (ed. Miller, 1:341–42; also ed. I. L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1841], 290–91. Cf. a similar poem attributed to Theodore Prodromos [ed. Ideler, *ibid.*, 1:418–20]).

³⁹ Ῥῆγες ἐν παραδείσῳ, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova* (Paris, 1844; repr. Hildesheim, 1962), 340–46, esp. 342, 345.

⁴⁰ If the persons are real, he may well be referring to the second wedding of John VIII Palaiologos and Sophia of Montferrat, which took place in the capital on 19 January 1421 and was followed by the coronation of John as co-emperor. See D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1993), 330–31.

⁴¹ Ed. J. F. Boissonade, “Ἐκφρασὶς εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον τῆς Ἀγίας Ἀννης τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου,” *Anecdota Graeca*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1829–33; repr. Hildesheim, 1962), 3:59–70.

⁴² “Theodore Hyrtakenos’ *Description of the Garden of St. Anna* and the Ekphrasis of Gardens,” in this volume. Mention should also be made of a brief description by Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos of a handmade embroidery depicting spring scenery, which he had seen in the palace of King Charles VI in Paris (PG 156:577–80).

⁴³ See Littlewood, “Gardens of the Palaces,” 35–38; H. Maguire, “Imperial Gardens and the Rhetoric of

survived the Latin conquest, although there seems to have been little abatement of imperial interest: the locations of the hunts mentioned may have been simply the countryside surrounding the city.⁴⁴

Private Gardens in Urban Houses of the Aristocracy

Little is known about the private houses of the aristocracy in the cities, and archaeology can offer little help in the case of Constantinople and Thessalonike, the largest cities of the empire, since the modern cities are built above the medieval ones. Nonetheless, written sources sometimes give us limited information about the palaces of the wealthy, which in certain cases it is hard to imagine did not possess gardens;⁴⁵ and even in the parlous conditions of the fifteenth century, aristocrats were still constructing for themselves luxurious three-storey houses in Constantinople that presumably often had attached gardens.⁴⁶

One house, however, is well attested, the palace of Theodore Metochites, which was looted by the followers of Andronikos III Palaiologos when he took over the capital in May 1328. Nikephoros Gregoras, who mentions the event, says that even the soil from this famous Constantinopolitan palace was sent as a present to the ruler of the Skythians. From exile Metochites himself vividly refers in a poem to his house, which possessed a chapel with many-colored marbles and a bath. There were also gardens of delightful beauty and ever-flowing fountains and a courtyard surrounded by a portico sheltered from the rays of the sun, where Metochites delighted in taking walks (he had even reconstructed the road

Renewal,” in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994), 181–97; and Nancy P. Ševčenko, “Wild Animals,” above, 69–86.

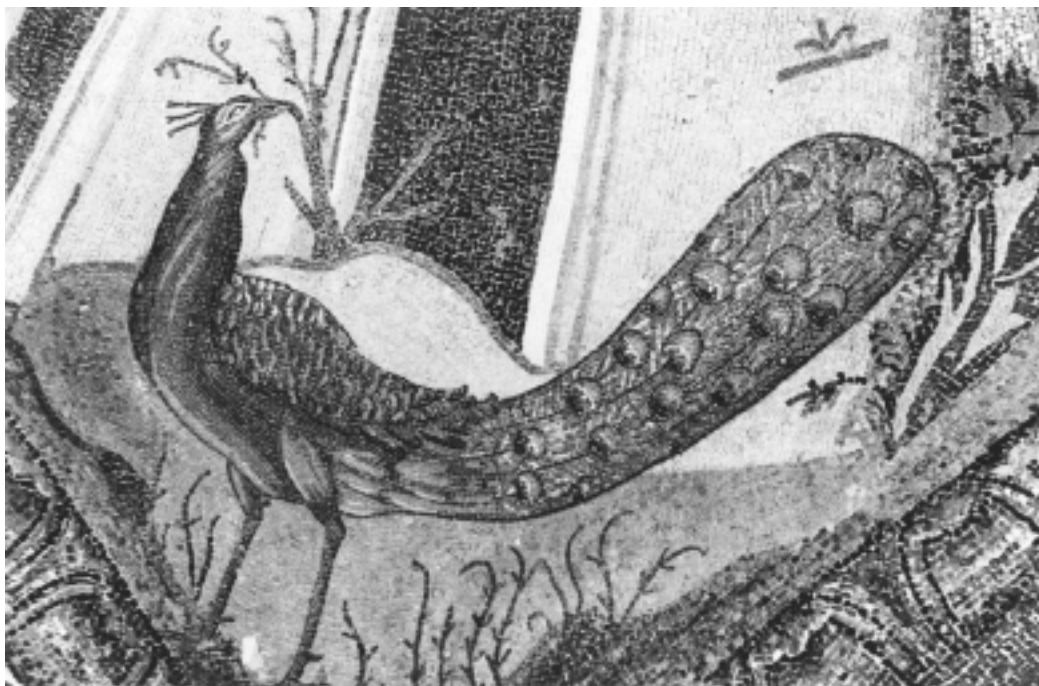
⁴⁴ Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–41) became famous for his hunting expeditions, for which he kept a great number of hunting dogs and hunting birds, whose upkeep cost an annual sum of 15,000 gold coins (Gregoras [Bonn ed.], 1:11, 566.4–12). Pero Tafur, who arrived in Constantinople in the autumn of 1437, two weeks before John VIII Palaiologos departed for the West to attend the Council of Ferrara, accompanied the emperor on hunting expeditions outside Constantinople. Once when they were joined by the empress, he reports that they killed many hares, partridges, francolins, and pheasants, which were very plentiful (Tafur, *Travels*, 118, 124). The same emperor also invited Ciriaco di Ancona to take part in a hunting expedition outside Constantinople together with the Genoese podestà Boruelo Grimaldi and his son in July 1444 (see J. Colin, *Cyriaque d'Ancone: Le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* [Paris, 1981], 355–56). John had indeed been promised by his father, Manuel II, a horse of noble origin, a hunting dog, and a hunting bird when he reached adolescence (PG 156:313B).

⁴⁵ For instance, the late 13th-century house owned by the grand logothete Constantine Akropolites, which had an enclosed interior with a private chapel and a study (the evidence is to be found in a letter addressed to his brother, the monk Melchisedek, after the severe earthquake of 1 June 1296; ed. C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, 1204–ca. 1310* [Nicosia, 1982], 163–64, no. 59, lines 31–39). Other examples are probably the wealthy two-storey house with a front courtyard of the future emperor John Kantakouzenos, which was confiscated by the state in 1341 (Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. [Bonn, 1828–32], 2:137.8–11, 164.21–165.12), and the well-known tower-house, called *Epiyatai*, built outside the walls of Constantinople on the European shore of the Bosphoros by Alexios Apokaukos ca. 1340 when he was *parakoimomenos* to Andronikos III Palaiologos (Kantakouzenos, 2:70.24–71.2; Gregoras [Bonn ed.], 2:585.10–22; 602.14–603.3).

⁴⁶ They were blamed by Joseph Bryennios in 1416 for doing this while paying no attention to the restoration of the city walls; see N. B. Tomadakes, *Περὶ ἀλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1453)*, 2d ed. (Athens, 1969), 249.180–84.



3 Istanbul, monastery of Chora, present-day Kariye Camii. Mosaic, the Annunciation to St. Anne, detail of well



- 4 Istanbul, monastery of Chora, present-day Kariye Camii. Mosaic, the Virgin Caressed by Her Parents, detail of peacock in southeastern pendentive (photo: after Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, 2:117, pl. 90)

leading to this house).⁴⁷ In the narthex of the monastery of the Chora, which he had refounded and lavishly decorated, the garden with a fountain in the mosaic of the Annunciation to St. Anne may well be a reminiscence of his private garden (Fig. 3). The representation in a nearby mosaic of peacocks in Joachim's garden, besides their symbolic role, may similarly have been intended to remind him of peacocks adorning his own paradise (Fig. 4).⁴⁸

It is unclear whether another property belonging to a slightly later statesman was a separate orchard or a garden adjoining his house.⁴⁹ Demetrios Kydones mentions in one of

⁴⁷ There are two incomplete editions of this poem (no. 19): one by R. Guiland, "Le palais de Théodore Métochite," *REG* 35 (1922), 86–93, with a French translation, and, more recently, by Eva de Vries-van de Velden, *Théodore Métochite: Une réévaluation* (Amsterdam, 1987), 253–57; see also I. Ševčenko and J. Featherstone, "Two Poems by Theodore Metochites," *GOTR* 26 (1981): 1–46. For the looting of the house, see Gregoras (Bonn ed.), 1:425.11–426.10, 458.23–459.2, 459.18–24. There is also a new complete edition of Metochites's poem 19: *Theodore Metochites's Poems "To Himself,"* ed. and trans. J. M. Featherstone, *Byzantina Vindobonensia* 23 (Vienna, 2000), 112–31, esp. 118.155–123.239.

⁴⁸ For fountain, trees, peacocks, and partridge, see P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 2 (New York, 1966), scenes 84–85, 88–91, 96, 98–101, 107, 110–12, 115–16, 134–35, 137, 141.

⁴⁹ Kydones refers to it here and elsewhere in his letters as a γῆδιον ("little piece of land") and himself as a γεωργός ("worker of the land"), but, as elsewhere, his letter is gently ironic, while γεωργός can bear the meaning of "gardener" rather than "farmer."

his letters (dated ca. 1374–75) to his patron, the empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina, that he sent her medlar fruits from his own garden. Kydones claims that he himself cultivated his garden but, because his medlars were famous for their sweetness, the emperors had ordered him to send the fruit to them. Very charmingly Kydones adds that “although I swore to obey the emperors in all things by day, at night I exercise my rights, and, stealing my own fruit, I taste it and send some to those to whom it is right to send it, before sending it to the emperors.”⁵⁰

Conclusion

The love for trees and nature, for the garden and the flower, has always been part of human culture. The Byzantines inherited from antiquity this appreciation and made it part of their own Greco-Roman and Christian culture.⁵¹ Byzantine emperors took special care for the upkeep of Constantinople and other important cities by founding public buildings that were sometimes surrounded by gardens. Public parks also existed either within or in the vicinity of the capital. Likewise individuals took pride in having small pleasure or kitchen gardens. Those who could afford to do so created for their own delight a larger *paradeisos*, an enclosed garden in imitation of the garden of Eden. Finally, although we have inadequate information, it appears that those who continued until the fifteenth century to copy and study the *Geoponika* and Dioskourides and to prepare drawings of the various plants, and to write poems on flowers or rhetorical ekphraseis on gardens, represent the continuity of a garden culture that was preserved in the east until the end of the Byzantine Empire. In Constantinople in the spring of 1453, when the great city was destroyed by the heavy artillery of the Ottoman Turks and looted by the illiterate soldiers of Mehmet II, the flowers were blooming and the fruits were ripe for picking by the hands of another culture. But even this was not the end, for the Turks themselves began to replant the gardens,⁵² and admiration of the splendor of the city and the persistence of ideals in the Greco-Roman tradition had already traveled from the city to reach Italy.

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⁵⁰ *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, 2 vols., *Studi e Testi* 186 and 208 (Vatican City, 1956–60), letter 143; English translation by F. Kianka, “The Letters of Demetrius Kydones to the Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina,” *DOP* 46 (1992): 160. For further gifts of fruit by Kydones, see letters 81, 186, 295, 296, 424, and (possibly) 405; and for a gift of roses to John V Palaiologos, letter 233.

⁵¹ An example that typifies the Byzantine delight in the natural world, whether wild or tended by human hands, is afforded by the historian Nikephoros Gregoras, who in an introduction to the disastrous expedition of Andronikos III against the Ottomans in 1329 cannot help remarking that “the time had already come when the hands of spring give birth to plants and paint the earth with the varied colors of grass, offering much pleasure to the eyes of human beings” (Bonn ed., 1:9.9, 433.9–11).

⁵² For the building of palaces and gardens in Constantinople after its capture by the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II and the eparch of Europe Machmout, see *Critobuli Imbriote Historiae*, ed. D. R. Reinsch (Berlin–New York, 1983), 131.25–133.7, esp. 133.1–4.

Appendix

Information on Gardens and Their Produce in Proverbs

Unlike the other sources used for this survey of late Byzantine gardens, proverbs are notoriously difficult to date and usually impossible to link with any historical situations. They may generally be divided into two categories: those in the “high” language and those in the “low” or demotic. The former were collected by classicizing scholars or teachers of rhetoric and are frequently related to or extracted from ancient Greek and Hellenistic literature or refer to ancient Greek myths; most are to be found in Byzantine lexica and especially in the encyclopedic compilation of the tenth century known as the *Souda*. The latter represent the wisdom of the Greek-speaking population of Byzantium, and many of these proverbs have passed into Modern Greek and are in use even today.¹ The justification for presenting such information in this Appendix is twofold. First, most of the proverbs adduced here come from compilations made during the late Byzantine period by Gregory II of Cyprus, patriarch of Constantinople (1283–89), Makarios Chrysokephalos, metropolitan of Philadelphia (1336–82), and the mid-fifteenth-century teacher, writer, and copyist Michael Apostoles.² Therefore, the frequency with which trees and flowers especially figure in these proverbs may reflect the importance of gardens to the Byzantines at this time. Second, paroemiographers have hitherto been ignored by historians of Byzantine gardens. It must be noted, however, that what follows is far from an exhaustive survey of information pertaining to gardens, flowers, trees, and vegetables preserved in even the published collections of proverbs (some of the demotic have still not been printed).³

Gardens in General

Illusory pleasure is indicated with reference to the gardens of Adonis⁴ or Tantalos,⁵ while a flowering garden is compared to the garden of Alkinoos⁶ or even to those of Zeus.⁷

¹ On Byzantine demotic proverbs, see in general H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), 206–7 (Greek trans. with additions, 2d ed. [Athens, 1993], 317–19), with references to editions; Ph. I. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol. 6 (Athens, 1955), 336–51. See now Th. Papadopoulos, “Προλεγόμενα εἰς τὸν παροιμιακὸν λόγον,” *Μελέται καὶ Ὑπομνήματα* 2 (Nicosia, 1991), 1–93.

² The following abbreviations are used in the notes to this Appendix: G. of C. = Gregory of Cyprus; Chrys. = Makarios Chrysokephalos; Apost. = Michael Apostoles; *Corpus* = E. L. Leutsch, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1851; repr. Hildesheim, 1965).

³ See, for instance, a collection preserved in Paris, B.N. gr. 947, fols. 271r–273r, A.D. 1574.

⁴ Ἀδώνιδος κήποι: Ἐπὶ τῶν ὀλιγοχρονίων καὶ ἁώρων (G. of C., PG 142:445; similar version in *Corpus*, 132.5–6); cf. also Ἀκαρπότερος Ἀδώνιδος κήπου· ἐπὶ τῶν μηδὲν γενναῖον τεκεῖν δυναμένων (Chrys., *Corpus*, 140.20–21) and the lengthier version in Apost. (*Corpus*, 247.19–24). It is worth observing that hanging gardens were called Ἀδώνειοι because they were temporary: Ἀδώνειοι καρποὶ λέγονται οἱ μετέωροι κήποι (*Souda*, 1:53.15, no. 514 [ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–38)]); cf. *ibid.*, 53.21–24, no. 517; 76.27–28, no. 807 and Apost., *loc. cit.*)

⁵ Ταντάλου κήπον τρυγᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν μάταια ποιοῦντων (Apost., *Corpus*, 656.1–2; cf. *idem*, *Corpus*, 657.10–17; *Souda*, 4:501.14–20, no. 80; 507.12–19, no. 147).

⁶ For the gardens of Alkinoos, see above, note 13, and Treu, *Manuelis Holoboli Orationes*, 2:58.15.

⁷ Ἐν Διὸς κήποις ἀροῦσθαι μόνον εὐδαίμονας ὄλβους (Apost., *Corpus*, 399.20–21).

Flowers

The royal flower for the Byzantines was the rose, which came in many varieties of color, fragrance, and foliage (e.g., *triakontaphylla*, *hexēkontaphylla*, *hekatomphylla*).⁸ Vanity and the temporal nature of beauty are compared with an old or dying rose;⁹ the inequality of things is shown by the comparison of a rose and an anemone;¹⁰ happy news is received like roses.¹¹

Trees

The strongest or the royal tree is the oak, and this tree is used in proverbs with various meanings: even an oak finally succumbs when continuously struck;¹² the fall of a high personage that may benefit many is compared with the falling of a big oak tree.¹³

The wood of the fig tree, which breaks easily, was used to refer to weak assistance or to the weakness of a person in general,¹⁴ but the fig fruit itself was always synonymous with integrity, honesty, and truth.¹⁵

Silence and negligence abroad were linked with the lotus;¹⁶ infertility could be suggested by the fruit of the cypress tree,¹⁷ luxury gifts by the apples of the Hesperides,¹⁸ and ambition by a garland of myrtle.¹⁹

Vegetables

Vegetables appear more rarely in proverbs, but cabbages, onions, and garlic had a very low value. Thus poor reinforcements were referred to as cabbage additions,²⁰ or a person

⁸ On roses, see Beckh, *Geoponika*, 11.18, 336–38.

⁹ 'Ρόδον παρελθὼν μηκέτι ζήτει πάλιν· ἐπὶ τῶν κυδαινόντων τινάς (*Souda* 4:297.11–12, no. 203; cf. G. of C., PG 142:465 and *Corpus*, 86.8–9; Apost., *Corpus*, 635.5–7).

¹⁰ 'Ρόδον ἀνεμώνη συγκρίνεις· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνόμοια συμβαλλόντων (*Souda*, 4:297.8–9, no. 203; G. of C., *Corpus*, 86.10–11; Chrys., *ibid.*, 207.1–2; Apost., *ibid.*, 635.1–2).

¹¹ 'Ρόδα μ' εἴρηκας, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἐμοὶ τὰ παρὰ σοῦ εἰρημένα ρόδα ἐστίν (*Souda*, 4:297.9–10, no. 203, G. of C., *Corpus*, 86.12–13; Apost., *ibid.*, 635.3–4).

¹² Πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς δρυς δαμάζεται. Ἐπὶ τῶν δυσαλώτων, (G. of C., PG 142:464 and *Corpus*, 127.22; cf. Apost., *Corpus*, 617.6–7).

¹³ Δρυὸς πεσοῦσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλεύεται· ἐπὶ τῶν ῥαδίως λαμβανόντων ἃ πρότερον μόλις ἠδύναντο and Δρυὸς καὶ πέτρας λόγοι· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδολεσχούντων καὶ μυθολογούντων παράδοξα (Chrys., *Corpus*, 158.1–4); cf. Δρυὸς πεσοῦσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλεύεται· παρόσον ἀνὴρ μέγας ὅταν σφαλῇ, πάντες κατ' αὐτοῦ φέρονται καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀρπάζουσι (Apost., *ibid.*, 372.2–4).

¹⁴ Συκίνη ἐπικουρία· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελὲς (Apost., *Corpus*, 648.1–3); cf. Συκίνη μάχαιρα· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενεστάτων καὶ εὐτελῶν. Συκίνη βακτηρία· καὶ συκίνη ἐπικουρία· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενῶς βοηθούντων (Chrys., *ibid.*, 210.3–5); Σύκινος νοῦς· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων· παρόσον τὸ σύκινον ξύλον ἀσθενέστατον (Chrys., *ibid.*, 212.5–6).

¹⁵ Τὰ σῦκα σῦκα λέγω, καὶ τὴν κάρδοπον· ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ ἀληθῇ λεγόντων ἀνεπιφθόνως (Apost., *Corpus*, 658.1–2).

¹⁶ Λωτοῦ ἔφαγες· ἐπὶ τῶν σχόντων λήθην τῶν οἱκοὶ καὶ βραδυνόντων ἐπὶ ξένης (Apost., *Corpus*, 515.2–4).

¹⁷ Κυπαρίττου καρπός· ἐπὶ τῶν καλὰ καὶ ὑψηλὰ λεγόντων, ἄκαρπα δέ (Apost., *Corpus*, 491.5–6).

¹⁸ Μῆλα Ἑσπερίδων μοι ἐδώρησ'· ἐπὶ τῶν πολυτελεῖ χαριζόντων (Apost., *Corpus*, 528.14–15).

¹⁹ Μυρρινῶν ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμεῖς· μυρρίναις γὰρ στεφανοῦνται οἱ ἄρχοντες (Apost., *Corpus*, 538.9–10).

²⁰ Αἱ λαχάνων προσθήκαι· ἐπὶ τῶν μηδὲν ὠφελούντων (Apost., *Corpus*, 263.9); Ὁ ἔχων πολὺ πέπερι

with few debts could proudly say that he owed only onions and garlic.²¹ These last two vegetables could also express the difficulty in communication and understanding between two people.²² A need of celery meant that a person was elderly or seriously ill, since tombs were crowned with this in antiquity.²³ These examples could easily be multiplied. Most interestingly we may learn from a demotic proverb that those living close to a gardener could expect to have at least free cabbages.²⁴

τίθησι κὰν λαχάνους· ἐπὶ τῶν εὐπόρως καὶ ἀφθόνης βιούντων (Apost., *Corpus*, 551.8–9): cf. K. Krumbacher, *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter* (Munich, 1893), 85, no. 32. Similar are two Cypriot proverbs: τὰ φουμισμένα λάχανα γιὰ ἄρμυρὰ γι' ἀνάλατα (A. A. Sakellarios, *Τὰ Κυπριακά*, vol. 2 [Athens, 1891], 286.285) and σακκὶν λάχανα σκουτέλλιν μαειρικά (ibid., 288.351).

²¹ Πᾶν μοι τὸ χρέος κρόμμυα καὶ τὸ τίμημα σκόροδα . . . ἐπὶ τῶν ὀλίγα ὀφειλόντων καὶ εὐτελῇ (Apost., *Corpus*, 601.3–5).

²² σκόροδα μὲν ἡρωτᾶτο, κρόμμυα δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο (E. Kurtz, *Die Sprichwörterammlung des Maximus Planudes* [Leipzig, 1886], 44, no. 248).

²³ Οὗτος τοῦ σελίνου δεῖται· ἐπὶ τῶν πάνυ γερόντων καὶ ἐξησθηγκότων· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πένθεσι σελίνου στεφάνους ἐφόρουν (Chrys., *Corpus*, 198.1–3).

²⁴ Εἶχαμεν φίλον κηπουρὸν καὶ διδασκόμεν του γέννημαν καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα (Krumbacher, *Sprichwörter*, 77, no. 10 [this proverb is provided with a religious explanation]).